containers made of jícara (*boch*) or tecomate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

The most important article is the altar with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

Clothing and Ornaments

Each community has its own style of clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-kú*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long; a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

Each municipio has made of these clothes

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

to admit to having a weak one would admit weakness in magic and all other things, and set one's enemies immediately to work with the certainty of success.

Although the idea prevails among the Ladino people of Chiapas that the *nagual* and the soul are the same, in reality they are quite distinct. The soul, *lap*, is conceived of as a separate possession, distinct also from the principle of life, both in its conception and etimologically ("life"—*kucul*). This soul is a delicate thing, easily lost, and the object of many ceremonial precautions. Apparently it dwells within the body, but may be jarred loose, or lost in whole or in part.

Apropos of this, the Yocotan curse, given in Volume I, Chapter VI, a prayer to get hold of a man's soul, shows a similar idea. The damage is not done by catching the soul, but by the magic that may be worked on the man after it is caught. Save for the immortality which the Indian enjoys through it after death, his soul may be regarded as much more of a liability than an asset.

If an Indian falls down, the shock of the fall loosens his soul. He must lie where he is until his companions, or the next comers, place a circle of little crosses of grass about him. They then sweep up the trail behind him, gathering the dust and placing it in a heap by his head. On this the grass crosses are burned, and the Indian, inhaling the smoke, regains his soul.

It should be mentioned that these are a very sure-footed people, who seldom fall, and that no importance is attached to falling down when intoxicated.

In case of severe fright, the soul is also thought of as jarred loose. To cure this, an egg or a chicken is buried at the spot where the fright occurred. There is some idea of fright being caused by a spirit that must be placated, an idea which is differently expressed in a custom described as common among the Chol Indians near Palenque. With them, if a child is frightened, the mother beats it soundly, meantime crying "Go away, devil, go away, devil!" (*Que sale el diablo!*") In this case fright is definitely a form of possession. It is part of a conception found among many of the Mayance tribes that there is something unnatural and supernatural about a sudden shock of this sort. Being startled must be distinguished from merely being afraid of something, which is considered entirely natural and comprehensible.

On the trail the Indians sleep on beds of palm leaves which take an impression of the sleeper's body. Before going on, these leaves must be shaken out, and should also be held over the smoke of the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

fire and then hung up to destroy the impression and prevent leaving behind with it a portion of the soul, on which magic could be worked. Our own observation was that this precaution was carelessly observed.

Although magic may be worked on impressions on leaves, bits of hair, earth from fields, etc., the Indians showed no objection at all to being photographed beyond a certain embarrassment, and very little to being drawn. Often they asked to be photographed, and at some villages posed readily for sketches.

Although, according to Nuñez de la Vega,* there were originally several classes of shamans among these tribes, at present they seem to have narrowed down to one medicine-man type. Primarily these are doctors, but in their practice they preserve certain priestly characteristics. They have a real pharmacopeia, and Ladinos and occasional foreigners who have tried their skill testify to the effectiveness of the medicines.† All their knowledge, however, is kept in greatest secrecy. Just enough medicine is administered at once for a dose, the shaman watching to see that it is consumed, and none held out for identification. Of these we were able to find out virtually nothing. Serpent fat, *junto-tcan*, is in common use as a rub for colds. Head-aches and extreme drunkenness are treated by cutting the forehead with a bit of sharp glass, and bleeding is resorted to in some other cases. The use of the tourniquet in cases of snake-bite is widely known.

All applications of medicine are accompanied by prayers recited in such a way as to be unintelligible to lay hearers. The prayers are an essential part of the treatment.

Shamans are trained from early infancy, being selected probably by the older practitioners. One of them takes the student in hand and teaches him prayers and medicines proper to his particular specialty. With this goes a certain amount of plain magic. Whether a man may then study under others and continue learning is not known; however, they vary in reputation both for their ability at curing, and for clairvoyance, casting spells, etc. Casting spells is a sort of reverse function of doctoring, the man who can cure disease being, obviously, able also to cause it.

One of the two words given for a shaman, *poci'*, shows an interesting resemblance to the Tzeltal for rum, *poc*. This similarity gains importance in view of the real connection between curing and drinking. A shaman definitely will not perform unless he is more

*Op. Cit.
†Cf. Sapper, 1925.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 177 178 434 [335] of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs.

361 351 434 [554] House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice.

352 435 [513] House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table [708] is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and [322] flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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must announce his arrival at the gate so that the mother can cover the child from view. In this period, the mother sleeps with the child apart from her husband. 846 [513]

Infants remain swaddled in wrapped skirt pieces—the woman's sash is not used after the first fifteen days—throughout the first year of life. Their arms are bound to their sides by kerchiefs crossed over the chest and drawn around the back with the ends tucked in; this makes it easier to carry the child on the back, wrapped in a large carrying cloth. Mothers sometimes lay sleeping infants on their bed when they are working in the house, but much of the time they carry them on their backs. 854

The child is given corn gruel to supplement nursing during his third or fourth month. Weaning may be consciously done after the child reaches the age of one and a half or two years. If the child persists in trying to nurse, the mother may put chile sauce or draw a face on her breasts to discourage him. 853 862

Much of the care of children from two to four years of age is done by elder siblings. Both girls and boys of from seven to ten years of age carry younger siblings in a carrying cloth on their backs, even when playing very active games. They pacify the child by holding a flower or twig for him to chew or grasp, and they usually share with him any cookies or scraps of food they are given. 855 857

School is commonly considered the most joyful time of a person's life. There the children, especially boys, make friendships which last throughout life. School recess is a time for unrestrained running, shouting, and laughter such as I have rarely seen in the houseyards when children play together. 871 857

In teaching their children how to work, parents are expected to inculcate not only competence but also a sense of the value of work, for industry is one of the most esteemed traits in both boys and girls. Small girls do errands for their mothers from the age of about four years. When a woman is occupied with pottery, she rarely disturbs herself to get needed items, but calls upon her children to fetch a pot which is out of reach or to bring water for the painting. She gives these orders in a quiet undertone, and I have never seen any need to prompt or cajole the child into fulfilling the errand. By the age of ten or eleven, girls begin to make small pots like 867 857 868 323

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *kantxil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in kerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ?ačil*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *kihtx'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačil" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *?antx wiltal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *?antx*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winik* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *me?elil*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *me?il*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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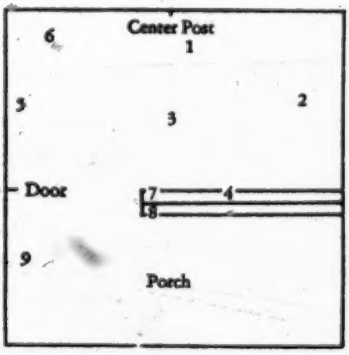
342 [196] [621] [574] women sit inside in a semicircle. A house without a closed-in porch is referred to as a "cattle house" since it is considered inadequate for entertaining guests at ceremonial affairs. Townspeople prefer to choose as higher officials those who have houses with porches to accommodate visitors.

Fig. 8. Interior of a House



1. Seat of honor for women
2. Bed area for women of house
3. Hearth
4. Bench area for relatives of house
5. Bench area for visiting men
6. Mats or wooden board for visiting women
7. Honor seat for men (when inside house)
8. Honor seat for men outside house
9. Resting areas for male helpers

592 [513] Each member of the household has his place for sleeping, eating, and sitting. The youngest child sleeps with his parents, and older children sleep with siblings of the same sex or with their grandparents. Newly married couples living with their parents prefer to sleep in the cook shack if there is a separate structure. At mealtime, men and boys sit on small wooden chairs at a miniature table placed against the wall separating the interior from the porch, while women and girls kneel on straw mats near the hearth.

[264] [352]

342 352 562 574 796 Reference points inside the house (Fig. 8) are the center post where the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

mother's womb, and they compete for survival with other small babies who live close by (one of the two is likely tc die). They are extremely susceptible to the mal de ojo (evil eye)[1] because their souls are tender, and they are, for the same reason, easy victims of witchcraft exercised against their parents. During the first few months of life, they are protected and cared for with innumerable precautions: they are covered up when strangers enter the house, attended at the slightest sign of distress, and rarely taken out of the sitio. Until another child is born, they sleep with the parents on the same petate (mat) or bed.

When a mother is ready to have a new baby, the younger one is given to an elder sister or grandmother with whom it can sleep. The baby is also weaned at this time. The separation of the child from the mother is an open traumatic experience, and parents admit that children get sick and even die as a result of "jealousy." Nevertheless, no direct attempt is made to smooth the emotional disturbances or the developing sibling rivalry in

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[1]The evil eye has been described innumerable times for Middle America. In the Chiapas Highlands it is a sickness caused by a person with strong or "hot" eyes, who looks at the victim. Evil eye "carriers" are not necessarily aware of their power, but some individuals are consciously included in this category: pregnant women, menstruating women, and people with glasses or light eyes, or with very deep set eyes. To avoid giving "mal de ojo," the producer has to touch the person who can be a victim. If a menstruating woman distractedly looks at a small baby, she will immediately put her hand on the baby's forehead, to retrieve from him her power, and not make him sick.

The same procedure of touching the person is done if the other person feels that he is unwillingly "envying" the first one, and can be an unconscious witchcraft mediator. For example, if a married woman without babies sees another woman's baby, she will touch him to show that she is not "envying" the mother, and therefore, there is no danger that she will "steal" the baby's soul or make him sick with her envy.